WRL NEWS

NUMBER 192 THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE JAN · FEB 1976

1000 SET OUT FROM SAN FRANCISCO

THE CONTINENTAL WALK BEGINS

by Ed Hedemann

On January 23, one hundred people at a rally in Ukiah left on a 120-mile trek south to San Francisco. Spirits were high though about half the walkers had colds.

Seven days later fifty walkers crossed the Golden Gate Bridge into San Francisco to be met by organizers and reporters. The walkers were escorted to the Presidio and then on to Union Square.

The Continental Walk was unofficially intiated January 1 at the Peace Bridge on the Canadian-American border about 25 miles south of Vancouver, British Columbia, by a car caravan to Ukiah.

Meanwhile in the East Bay, a couple dozen walkers left January 25 on a branch route from the Concord Naval Weapons Depot heading for San Francisco. When the walkers reached Berkeley, they joined in with a Continental Walk rally on Sproul Plaza at the University of California campus. Daniel Ellsberg and radical Berkeley Councilwoman Ying Lee Kelley spoke to a crowd of 800. At the rally's end, as a spontaneous gesture, people were asked to join in with the walkers, if for only a short way. As a result, 300 to 400 enthusiastic people took to the streets marching down Telegraph Avenue, stopping all traffic, as they walked several blocks towards San Francisco.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dick Gregory, Betty Kaplowitz, Daniel Ellsberg, and others addressed a January 30 "send-off" rally of 500 in San Francisco. If that wasn't enough, 800 people got out to Union Square Saturday morning for the actual send-off. All but a few started out walking and by the end of the day in Daly City, 200 or 300 were still walking.

Media coverage was excellent. All the

(continued on page 2)

photo by UPI

Dick Gregory, Ralph Abernathy and a deputation from Japan head the Continental Walk as it sets out down Market Street, San Francisco, on January 31.

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TV stations, the wire services, radio stations, the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner were present. A UPI telephoto was sent out nation-wide and an AP stringer is accompanying the Walk across the Continent. Several Bay Area radio stations contacted organizers about interviews just after the Walk left San Francisco.

Organizers report that approximately 100 people have been going down the Peninsula, with 50 expected to go the full length of California and about 30 to continue all the way to Washington, D.C.

People, who having just heard about the Walk, began to join in droves–wanting to "walk the whole way." While this has been a tremendous indication of support and interest, it has created concern among exhausted Bay Area organizers who are not sure what to do with the unexpected numbers of people.

A nice demonstration opposing the Navy's answer to the Air Force's B-1 bomber–the Trident Submarine–was held on the Peninsula as well as demonstrations at Lockheed, Stanford Research Institute, etc.

The weekend before the walking began in Ukiah, a long distance walkers' training program faciliated by Gail Pressberg was held in San Francisco and attended by 40 people. A valuable addition to the long distance walkers is a team of four Buddhists from Japan. These representatives of the Japan Buddha Sanga, Japan's largest peace organization, will be rotated every 1000 miles with a new contingent of four.

The walkers will enter Los Angeles March 6 and reach the Arizona border at Blythe March 24.

Meanwhile across the Atlantic, plans are underway for "The First International March in Europe of the Nonviolent Antimilitarists," a car relay for disarmament in West Germany, and a march against nuclear power in Scandinavia.

There now exist about 20 branches into the main route so that a total of 36 states are touched by the Walk. All who are interested in walking through their community or helping in other ways are encouraged to contact The Continental Walk National Office, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, 212-677-5455.

photo by J.C. Stockwell

WITH THE CONTINENTAL WALK ON THE ROAD, *WRL NEWS* READERS MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN . . . . . .

The **WALK** buttons	25¢ apiece, $12 per 100
The **WALK** bumper sticker	50¢
The **WALK** poster	50¢
The **WALK** manual	40¢

MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT 20 YEARS LATER

by David McReynolds

In December of 1955 a revolution broke out in the heart of the old Confederacy. Jim Crow was challenged on his home grounds, in the very citadel of his strength, by a black woman, Rosa Parks. She had, that December 5, sat in the "wrong" section of a city bus, and was arrested. At the urging of E.D. Nixon, an active trade unionist, the black ministers met and Martin Luther King, Jr., then just 26 years old, took on the impossible task of heading the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The rest–including the very active support role played by War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation–is history.

To honor the men and women who made that peaceful revolution possible, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference organized a three day observance December 5-7. WRL was among the sponsoring groups and sent three persons to represent it–William Douthard, Steve Froemming, and myself. Glenn Smiley, now retired, flew from Los Angeles to represent FOR. Ralph David Abernathy, Bernard Lee, Coretta King, Julian Bond, and Congresspersons John Conyers and Andrew Young were among the honored guests and speakers.

The main banquet was held in the Holiday Inn–which had been one of the last redoubts of segregation in the old Alabama. As a final irony, members of George Wallace's integrated state police provided heavy security for those present, virtually all of whom had once been beaten and jailed in the struggle to begin the liberation of Black America.

NOW IN PAPERBACK

MORE POWER THAN WE KNOW. Dave Dellinger's book on movement tactics, past and future. 326 pp. $3.95

A TIME TO DIE. Tom Wicker's book on Attica–written from D-yard. 393 pp. $1.95

10 COPIES ONLY . . .

. . . of INSIDE THE COMPANY–CIA DIARY, Philip Agee's outstanding expose, until recently unavailable in the U.S., have been donated to WRL. The League will sell a single copy ($3) to the first 10 persons who order. If you are NOT among the first 10, your money will be returned.

ACQUITALS IN BRITISH 14 CASE

by Kate Sheehan

All 14 supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, charged with a conspiracy to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act, were acquitted by a jury on December 10. They had distributed leaflets to soldiers informing them on all possible ways in which soldiers could leave the army. Twelve of these 14 pacifists, charged under section 2 of the Incitement to Disaffection Act with possession of this leaflet "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers", were also acquitted on this count. Two of the 14, charged under the Army Act with concealing a person knowing him to be a member of Her Majesty's Forces absent without leave, were fined $100 and $200. The Act provides a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

The War Resisters' International has given international support not only to the defendants, but to BWNIC itself throughout its existence. At the start of the trial, we were able to mobilize our sections and supporters in 10 countries to organize support for the BWNIC defendants. Now that the trial is over, the campaign for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland must continue.

On December 11, Paul Brinkman and I, WRI staff, and Giel Jacques, a Belgian total resister, distributed the infamous leaflet, "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers," in front of the British barracks in Antwerp, Belgium. After a short encounter with the military officials, who said we were obstructing traffic, the police were called. There was dispute over who owned the property we were leafleting on, the British or the Belgians. The military officers indicated to us that their soldiers know their rights, but would not explain why they found our distribution of the leaflet so distressing. The officers took the leaflets away from the soldiers and civilians we had already leafletted. We were told to leave the premises or face arrest. In fear of immediate expulsion from Belgium, Paul and I decided not to be arrested. Giel, however, refused to leave and was taken to the police station. When Paul and I arrived at the police station to inquire about him, we were treated as if we had also been arrested. We were required to have our pictures taken. After a short detention, we persisted in distributing the leaflet by stuffing the mail boxes of the married soldiers, whose living quarters are seperate from the barracks.

WRI strongly urges all pacifists to leaflet British troops in their country with the leaflet "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers." If you do not live near British barracks, write up a leaflet on the situation in Northern Ireland and British intervention and leaflet it regularly in front of the British Embassy, airlines, etc. In mid December the British Government ended internment. We must continue international actions to pressure the British Government to draw all its troops from Northern Ireland and end the political union.

NOTE ON FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO REGIONS

Some WRL members have asked why they get, in addition to national fund appeals, appeals from the regional WRL offices. Let us clarify, particularly in regard to WRL West, but also in regard to the general philosophy of national funding. Some years ago the WRL made substantial grants for two years running to get WRL West started. Since that time WRL West has been *completely self-supporting*. There are three other regions (WRL Southeast, Midwest, South Central) which get *some* funds from the National WRL but must raise the *bulk* of their annual budgets within their own region.

The whole philosophy of national funding has been to use national funds *to seed local work*, to end grants and subsidies as soon as regions are self-supporting, and shift national funds to open new regional offices and to new projects. So . . . while we hope this note does not decrease the national budget at a time when the situation has been extremely tight, we feel it necessary to remind those members in organized regions that most or (in the case of WRL West) all of the regional budget must be raised from WRL members within the region.

JULIUS EICHEL . . .

photo by Albon Man

. . . blows out 8 candles (one for each decade) at his 80th birthday party Jan. 10 in the home of his son, Seymour. Attending were 15 COs imprisoned in world war 2 and 5 women activists of that period including, of course, Esther, Julius's wife. Julius is the only American with the honorable record of having been imprisoned for war resistance in both world wars.

A.J. MUSTE ON DISARMAMENT

February 11, 1976, will mark nine years since A.J. Muste's death. Each year in the January-February issue, we have carried an item to remind readers of him. Since he was chairperson of CNVA during the 1961 San Francisco-Moscow Walk and since our Continental Walk for Disarmament & Social Justice is on the road, it is appropriate to recall the following quote from A.J. on disarmament.

"We may put this another way: neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is going to force or cajole or trick the other into breaking out of the circle of suspicion and exposing itself to insecurity in the military power sense. They certainly will not coexist peacefully unless they change substantially. But the chance in each case will have to come from within. The one can induce or encourage it in them only by example, ie., unilateral action."

A.J. LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM WRL:

ESSAYS OF A.J. MUSTE, edited by Nat Hentoff $3.45
LIBERATION MAGAZINE's A.J. MEMORIAL ISSUE ..... 50¢
OF HOLY DISOBEDIENCE, A.J.'s noted essay on CD ..... 50¢

Joe Gerson

I was concerned to see that Roy Kepler is taking the position that he is within the WRL. I assume, and hope, that this position is not widely supported in the League. If a serious discussion is, in fact, taking place over the two lines, I'd be glad to add my three cents worth if and when the appropriate time arose. . . .

Alec Beasley

The 'heresy' of Roy Kepler prompts this letter. I have that 'heresy' too. Mr. Kepler well says it, that 'nonviolence is a set of principles and ideas that should be universally valid'. Though I would substitute 'Nonmilitarism' for nonviolence. Anti-militarism is specific, nonviolence is too broad. For instance, I accept police and prisons—and this, as it is said, is violence to the person. . . .

Vincent Frazzetta, Jr.

Though I am a socialist as McReynolds is, I believe Kepler bears a strong and valid point when he asks 'How efficient is it to be locked into a tiny wing of the American people . . .' If America is going to become serious about peace, then peace (and at least *some* segment of the WRL) must become palatable and desirable to mid America.

Warren Levy

(The) dialogue . . . started by Roy Kepler and David McReynolds was a welcome surprise. I had been thinking there was no room for me in WRL other than as a financial supporter (albeit a modest one). Writing you and saying so had been on my mind . . . In addition to 'middle America', you might give some thought to the thousands of unorganized, non-doctrinaire 'radicals' out there. Business people, professionals, unionists and others I know are 'empathetic radicals'. What distinguishes them, in large numbers, from (what) my image of WRL (is) is that they are not and do not want to be part of current revolutionary cultures.

Perhaps you might expand the anarchist-socialist creative tension to include evolutionist-revolutionist tension. Perhaps you might be willing to welcome other cultures such as business and professional types, laborites, artists, etc. In any case, I appreciate that the subject has come up . . .

ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY . . .

photo by Karl Bissinger

. . . a delegation from the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs (Gensuikyo) joined WRLers in a peace demo at the UN. Like the previous year, when a similar demo took place on Pearl Harbor Day, the Japanese shouted "No More Pearl Harbors!" and the Americans, "No More Hiroshimas!"

This photo shows Charlie King, in front of the Japanese delegates, singing peace songs.

His latest stereo LP record, OLD DREAMS & NEW NIGHTMARES, is just out and can be obtained for $5 (plus 50¢ postage) from CW RECORDS, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012—all proceeds to the Continental Walk and the Catholic Worker. (One of the numbers on the record is DO THE CONTINENTAL WALK.)

TIME FOR NOMINATIONS.

No, not for the presidency. But more important, for the executive and national committee of the WRL. Only persons in the New York City area should be nominated for the executive committee since they must be able to attend monthly meetings in this area. Members outside of the New York City area may be nominated for the national committee. Any five members may make a nomination. A nomination submitted by less than five is subject to approval of the executive committee. Please submit nominations to the office before March 20.

The following terms are expiring: executive committee—Bent Andresen, Norma Becker, Sybil Claiborne, Jerry Coffin, William Douthard, Larry Erickson, Prafulla Mukerji, Igal Roodenko; national committee—Robert Rovinsky, Beverly Woodward, Don Bender, Steve Summerford, Larry Gara, Victor Schumacher, Betty Brantner, Sue Gottfried Davidson.

PEGGY DUFF RECOVERS FROM FALL

Peggy Duff, the General Secretary of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, fell in late January, while on a two week trip to this country. She broke her hip and spent two weeks in a Washington D.C. hospital, from which she has now been released and is back in London. Peggy, an indomitable figure in the British peace movement, and a close personal friend of Bill and Ann Davidon and David McReynolds, has played a crucial role in maintaining a non-aligned network of world contacts. Cora Weiss was a tower of help in Peggy's time of trouble—never was a cliche more truly earned. All of Peggy's friends—which reach from Tokyo to Hanoi to Belgrade to 339 Lafayette Street—are grateful to Cora, and look forward to many more years of service from "the Duff".

WHAT STANCE SHOULD WRL TAKE? II

(continuation of the discussion which started in the last issue)

FOCUS ON INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

by Norma Becker

My concern with Roy Kepler's criticism of the League (WRL News) is that he doesn't seem to acknowledge that non-violence has a content as well as a form. Would we, for example, lend our efforts to a non-violent campaign to maintain segregation, or a non-violent campaign to outlaw abortion? Obviously not!

I, for one, would find it much more fruitful for us to attempt to clarify what we mean by "pacifist analyses, principles and practices" before we criticize the League for failing to advance them.

On the other hand, Roy's comments *do* raise questions which have been glossed over during the past decade as we concentrated our energies on Vietnam.

Should the WRL, for instance, confine its resistance to the kind of war which rains bombs upon children of foreign lands, ignoring the more insidious war which each winter dooms countless children—who happen to inhabit the hovels reserved for the poor in the United States—to a fiery death? Regardless of whether or not Roy and middle America are aware of it, there *is* a violent and brutal class war in this country—compounded by a deeply entrenched racism.

Perhaps the violence of poverty and racism are not as dramatic or immediate as the violence of war, but it is equally destructive of human life and demeaning of the human spirit. In my own mind I can find no moral or political justification for the League to combat exported violence while failing to vigorously struggle against domestic violence—including the kind that Dave Dellinger refers to as "the violence of the status quo."

It seems indisputable that social injustice will inevitably bring forth resistance of various kinds; emerging eventually into some type of collective, organized effort to change social conditions (and thus rectify the injustice). If it presents a serious enough challenge to basic power relationships or positions of privilege, isn't it precisely this kind of effort that will just as inevitably result in violence—REGARDLESS OF THE TACTICS/STRATEGY (violent or non-violent) employed by those seeking to bring about the change? Historically, haven't those who are challenged—and who, incidentally, control the weaponry—inevitably used violence means to suppress trouble-making dissidents?

The point seems obvious that so long as there is injustice in society, it is inevitable that there will be violence—even if, in the United States, all of middle America were converted to Pacifism. This is not to negate the authentic importance of speaking to middle America but to underscore my belief that the League's program should be based upon a synthesis of non-violent principles and practices with a comparable commitment to an on-going struggle for social justice.

Some of us unequivocally advocate the use of non-violence as a means of resolving social conflict and effecting social change —not necessarily because it is immediately more effective than violence (sometimes it isn't!)—but because it is profoundly more human and humane for all the contending forces. And if our ultimate vision is a society devoid of violence, then some of us must live that vision within the present society TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS POSSIBLE.

But it is clear that the existing social structure severely limits that possibility. So even confirmed pacifists are too often trapped into a position of *espousing* non-violence while unwillingly *practicing* some degree of complicity with violence. We all pay taxes which subsidize napalm and the CIA. We all puchase the commodities of the corporate giants—oftentimes consuming more than we need. Most of us are members of the master race and/or the more privileged classes. There seems little basis for a holier-than-thou attitude toward those (radicals or non-radicals) who have been hooked more deeply into systemic violence than we.

It seems to me that the League should channel its energies into those struggles which will ultimately help do away with the oppressive social institutions that beget violence: capitalism, militarism, racism, sexism, etc.--because unless these institutions are eradicated, it doesn't seem likely that we, nor the "millions of Americans" who Roy speaks about, will be in a position to really practice non-violence.

EXCERPTS FROM COMMENTS ON LAST ISSUE'S DISCUSSION

Robert Hoffman

WRL is one of the very few anti-war groups to have survived for decades, through all the twists and turns of politics and popular sentiment, and of the survivors it is probably the most radical politically. Its endurance testifies to its adroitness in avoiding pitfalls along the way . . .

There are three classic patterns of driving oneselves under. First, there is sectarianism, usually of the political left, which leaves the organization appealing to practically no one. Roy Kepler has just written to warn against this. Then there are destructive factional disputes within the group. Finally, as the converse of Kepler's fear, there is the loss of strength precisely as a result of trying to appeal to as many people as possible . . .

Not long ago the bulk of what the left attacks was sacrosanct to most Americans, and especially to the middle class folk so important to the peace movement. That is not true any longer. The most radical social and political ideas can be wisely entertained or even embraced among potential recruits for any peace activism—but not if the ideas are enclosed in doctrines themselves strange and seemingly antagonistic. Often the antagonism is a consequence of misconceived associations—as of anarchism with terrorism or Marxism with Stalinist tyranny—but it is a reality nevertheless.

On the other hand, most of those in or sympathetic to the peace movement know too little of left-wing ideologies in their most developed forms. More familiarity with them would enrich our understanding of what we are engaged in.

The recruits are there if WRL's radicalism continues to be flexibly adaptive, and expressed in ways designed to be educational and persuasive rather than contentious and ritualistic. The radicalism itself is quite essential if WRL is to retain its vitality and direction, as well as its distinctive character.

Ernest Morgan

I liked (David's) article 'We Need to Broaden Our Focus.' I think (it was) directly in the tradition of Jessie Wallace Hughan, for whom I had a lot of respect. . . .

ACTION ON ANGOLA

INDIVIDUAL

photo by Karl Bissinger

Jim Peck demonstrates INSIDE State Department's Passport Office. When threatened with arrest, he cited the Port Authority Bus Station court decision upholding the right to demonstrate at indoor *public places.*

GROUP

photo by John Goodwin

On Dec. 29, just a week after Peck's action, the first organized pacifist demo took place. The above photo shows pickets at the U.S. Mission to the UN. Later, they went to the Soviet Mission.

The weekend of Jan. 17 was marked by a sharp escalation of protest over the U.S. role in Angola. On that day, 1000 persons marched from Herald Square in a demo organized by Youth Against War & Fascism and supported by some 20 Third World groups.

Two days later, as Congress reconvened, 300 persons attended a rally on the Capitol steps in Washington in front of a giant banner: "Hands off Africa!" The rally was organized by a very broad coalition of some 20 groups ranging from Americans for Democratic Action and the National Council of Churches to Women's International League, American Committee on Africa and Women Strike for Peace. They joined in a press statement which said: "We are here today to demand an end to U.S. intervention in Angola. We are convinced that the Ford Administration is following the same dangerous path of covert funding, arms shipments and training of mercenaries that led Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon into Vietnam. This time, however, we are determined to stop U.S. participation in this war before it escalates beyond control."

If you want the details on U.S. involvement in Angola, order, from us, the new 12-page pamphlet CIA'S SECRET WAR IN ANGOLA, published by Center for National Security Studies ..... 50¢

WRI CRISIS EASES

All WRL members received a special mailing on the serious financial situation faced by our International, of which we have been an affiliate since we were organized. The good news is that from the War Resisters League some $6,400 was raised and sent to Brussels and that a strong response from other sections has made it possible for the International to continue its work. The crisis is not over, but the necessary breathing space has been won.

NATIONAL AMNESTY WEEK FEBRUARY 22-28

The National Council for Universal & Unconditional Amnesty, the national amnesty coalition with over 100 constituent organizations, observed National Amnesty Week Feb. 22-28, with various educational and street actions.

DRAFT REGISTRATION CANCELED– A U.S. DECISION OR US?

by Karl Bissinger

March 31 had been set by the Federal Government as the date for all men, 18 to 26, to register if they had not already done so. Alerted last year to this remarkable "one day registration", all pacifist groups had begun to mobilize and urge mass non-cooperation. WRL had agreed to take primary responsibility for the illegal aspect of the campaign, a "statement of complicity", etc. (including possible adult sit-ins at the registration centers).

In mid-January the government suddenly grew hesitant. At first they were not sure if March 31 would be the date after all. Then they announced that budget cuts had reduced the Selective Service staff to a handful of workers. And finally it was announced that men would no longer be required to register for the draft because the skeleton crew left in charge of Selective Service could not handle them.

What really caused this turn-around on the part of the government? It is difficult to believe it was *just* economic factors—in a year when Ford has dared demand more than a *hundred billion dollars* in military spending. But perhaps it was just a sudden economy move. But just possibly it was a hasty "strategic retreat" by the government in the face of the announced plans to finish off registration once and for all by mass non-cooperation.